[88 cont.]
304 it seems possible that two kinds of tattooing exist side by side on Santa Cruz, the actual puncture-tattooing and the fine incised tattooing which may be regarded as an adaptation of scarification to puncture-tattooing (7). Count Tolna illustrates

> 7. Some religious factor seems to be involved when, according to Joest in Baessler, p. 378, a Reef Islander refused to answer a question about the meaning of the tattoo on his upper arm.

two very markedly raised horizontal chest scars on a chief of Ndeni, but it is doubtful whether the phenomenon, since it is isolated, is to be interpreted as scar tattooing (8).

> 8. F. de Tolna, pp. 280 f.

293 782 Not actually clothing and ornamentation, properly speaking, but close to them are the inevitable bags slung over the shoulder like a scarf (Figs. 20, 22, 50, 55-57),[1] in which [276] every Ndeni man carries little necessities, such as betel and betel implements, a spoon for scraping out [89] cocoanuts, [437] small articles for barter, etc. (1); furthermore there are the [412]

> 1. Dalrymple, p. 79. Dillon, p. 303. Coote, p. 159. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 51. For details, see below, pp. 91 f.

293 fans, of which there is only one in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 18), and Edge-Partington illustrates a miniature specimen decorated with Coix chains, according to him a present for chiefs' children (2). Festetics de Tolna mentions the use of palm leaves

> 2. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 10.

1 [cf. category 116, pp. 97, 103-105, 108--Analyst]

[113 cont.]
396 forests (4). The boat-building industry itself also flourished there;[1]

[000] 4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

a chief is mentioned as a great boat-builder (5). After the

5. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 332, 334. Dewar, p. 248, mentions boat-building on Ndeni.

[177] catastrophe of La Pérouse, which dumped large quantities of ironwork into the laps of the natives there, there was a decline in the industry of the island, which thereafter obtained almost all its needs in industrial products from the neighboring islands in exchange for iron (6).

[438 439]

6. D'Urville, p. 196.

• 437 Trade is everywhere a vital concern of the inhabitants. They always sailed out to meet European travelers with coconuts, [439] yams, etc., pigs, chickens, pigeons, arrows, mats, boat models or toy boats, and other things, in order to initiate trade (7). Yet

7. Labillardière, p. 251. Dillon, p. 293. Wilson, p. 295. Markham, p. 159. Coote, pp. 151, 153, 159. Dewar, p. 246. According to Dillon, p. 264, the women, in their own boats, also took part in this trade.

they are difficult to deal with. The Vanikorese had scarcely been provided with a certain amount of European necessities by [435] Dillon when they demanded exorbitant prices for all provisions from the subsequent expedition of D'Urville (8). On Ndeni Dewar

8. D'Urville, p. 145 and elsewhere.

1 [i.e., on Vanikoro -- Analyst.]

[113 cont.]

437

Dillon, however, p. 163, says that gifts were always offered in return for gifts given to them.

found transactions tiresome because in each case the seller entered into long consultations with the bystanders about the price he should accept (9). [114] Joest says that the only things

9. Dewar, p. 248.

[181] that will induce the native to get up early are war and making money; everyone wants to become a capitalist. The same [577] traveler maintains that they cheat whenever they can, and even if they are caught at it, they show neither shame nor embarrassment (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, pp. 373 f., 391 f. However, cf. Moresby, pp. 82 and 87.

436 In former times shell money supposedly was used on Ndeni, probably like the strings of shell disks worn around the neck and the body (2). A peculiarity of the group, which incidentally, is

2. Codrington, p. 324.

confirmed only for Ndeni and the Reef Islands, [Fig. 43 appears here] is feather money (3). Each piece (Fig. 43) consists of a

[113]

3. Cf. E.H. Giglioli in Archivio per l'Antropologia e Etnologia, XXXV, pp. 389 ff. Edge-Partington, I, 165, No. 1. Codrington, p. 324. Coote, p. 155. (The statement that feather money is actually worn around the body like a belt on festive occasions, as Coote maintains, is undoubtedly only a vague conjecture.) Joest, Tagebuch, p. 53.

/156 cont./

854 the larger children riding on the back (male children by the father). Documentation for Tumotu: O'Ferrall, Santa Cruz and the Reef Islands, the section "A New School Village"; for the Reef Islands: Coombe, plate facing p. 211, and Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 94, and 96.]

Children are treated tenderly (!),
855 but they seem to love them chiefly because they are entertain-
[562] ing. The woman is apparently despised, but there are cases of conjugal love.

181 /157/ The bargaining instinct is strongly pronounced,
437 but they are not dishonest or particularly avaricious in trading. On the other hand, the people are rather thievish, and to be sure not altogether because they are accustomed to a certain communism, as seems to be the case on Polynesian islands.

574 The visitor to a village is usually taken to the men's house, where he is offered a clean mat and a headrest and is served food as a token of hospitality (1). According to Coombe,

1. [Speiser, Südsee, p. 293. Coombe, p. 180, mentions the extravagant generosity of the Nitendi people toward
[576] strangers. Yet etiquette requires that one not talk much with a guest (ibid., p. 182).]

[576] p. 182, however, it is improper to show pleasure over a gift
[431] because this implies that the giver has made a great sacrifice and is a poor man. They like to show a guest their possessions,
[436] especially the best roll of feather money. Also, the men are not unwilling to show their skill in weaving and plaiting nets.
[462] This brings about a certain familiarity, so that one easily forms
181 too favorable an opinion of the people, until he again has occasion to observe their baser instincts.

/191 cont./

436 [548] Nitendi men in order to rear them as village prostitutes, while the Reef Islanders obtain sago from their previously mentioned properties on Nitendi (7). It cannot be said that the natives

437

7. [See above, pp. 71 f.]

of Nitendi are more unpleasant in trading than the other primitive inhabitants of the South Seas. As a rule, they come to an agreement rather quickly, and a constant rise in prices seldom occurs.

436 Feather money (8) is the most important object of value,

8. [Ethn., I, pp. 114 f. The statement there that various pieces [114] of wood carving and other objects are fastened to the ends is an error; cf. Foy, Ethn., II, p. 145, footnote 9. In part this is a matter of reinforcements or packing for the rolls of money (in Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 165, No. 2, the meaning is not at all clear), [118] in part amulets. Concerning the amulets that are packed in, each with special magical power, see also Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 164. Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 163, No. 2, illustrate one specimen of the painted rectangular boards, which perhaps are only amulets, and I am showing two more specimens with interesting appendages here (Fig. 35). Two other similar boards are to be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig (Me 1093 and 1094). In the case of one specimen of feather money in the R.-J.-M., No. 30582 (Speiser Coll.), the ends are sewed

3:Davenport F-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

438 canoe building, weaving, the manufac-
463 turing of bark cloth, tools and orna-
ments—and currency making—are in-
digenous to one or another small island
or to one village on an island. Each
of these specialized industries and crafts
is regarded by its practitioners as a right
[428] inherited in the family line, and only
individuals in the proper line of suc-
cession may manufacture currency, go
shark fishing, build canoes or follow any
other trade.

438 This primitive division of labor re-
quires in many instances that raw or
semiprocessed materials be brought
from one district or island to another,
where the goods are finished for local
consumption or for export. In the busy
437 commerce of the interisland economy
goods are rarely bartered. They are sold
for currency: feather money or, increas-
ingly, Australian currency. For all who
participate the motivation of this trade
goes beyond the exchange of necessities
and native luxuries; the islanders buy
and sell for the express purpose of mak-
556 ing money. The accumulation of money
is the way to prestige. But since the cur-
rency itself is perishable, prestige finds
its tangible expression in spending as
well as in accumulation, above all in
helping to buy brides for members of
one's family and friends and in giving
[642] feasts. Prestige won in these ways is the
source of political power and authority.

436 The red-feather currency is made only
[438] on Santa Cruz Island. It is made on
[675] contract for a specific purchaser, who
negotiates individually with the three
different hereditary specialists whose
combined skills are required for its
[463] manufacture. The first specialist snares
the little jungle bird whose down sup-

438
102

1 EXPORTERS OF WOMEN
2 NAVIGATORS AND TRADERS
3 ARBORICULTURE
4 PIG BREEDING
5 SHARK FISHING
6 SPECIALIZED CRAFTS
7 TARO GROWING

——— RED-FEATHER CURRENCY
——— WOMEN [W]
——— GOODS AND PRODUCE
O FEATHERS AND SHINGLES
• CURRENCY BINDING

438 certain districts of Santa Cruz Island, cir-
culates there and in the Reefs and Duff.

[p97 (A)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1960-1980)1982
C013 Santa Cruz C013

435 "porkers," because a pig suitable for a
436 feast can be bought with currencies in this range; pieces from No. 6 to No. 10 are called "sucklings," because they will buy only pigs too small to be eaten.
437 Except for the negotiation of bride
[583] prices, there is remarkably little haggling over the price of any purchase. The buyer of a pig or canoe or taro roots offers what he considers a fair amount of
[626] currency, and the seller accepts. If the seller feels he has been underpaid, he can seriously damage the buyer's reputation by gossiping about the transaction and refusing to deal with him again.

435 As in the purchase of a bride, certain
436 other purchases must be made with specified pieces of high value. The seller
[437] has no obligation to "make change," so currency is exchanged ahead of time.
[463] This can be done by anyone, but some men who are particularly adept at

[4102 (B)]

3:Davenport E-6 (1968-1980)1982
C813 Santa Cruz C813

438 could purvey her services as a prostitute, sell her outright or even kill her
[595] without fear of retaliation. None of these
[548] things could be done with wives. But since the purchase price of a concubine was 10 times higher than a bride price, selling a girl into concubinage had its attractions for many Reef Island families. The British Government has forbidden the practice, but Reef Island
[177] women still go south as wives. Their
[583] bride prices are the main source of cur-
[554] rency for their home islands. An imported wife brings extra prestige to a Santa Cruz man, and bride prices for Reef women run about twice as high as they do for domestic wives.

The Duff Islanders get their feather currency not by selling women but by building large sailing canoes that carry on interisland traffic in passengers and cargo. The men of the Duffs do not en-
[437] gage in that traffic themselves; they sell the canoes for feather currency to the
[505] people of a few of the western Reef Islands, who in turn specialize in voyaging and trading throughout the islands. These mariners sail even to the southern islands of Utupua and Vanikoro in search of trade. The two islands are outside the feather-currency area, but their people until recently depended on the
[436] canoes to bring them the shell disks and lengths of woven cloth they used as currency. For these precious items they
[437] traded, at fixed rates, packets of red honey eater feathers, and these were resold on Santa Cruz to the makers of feather currency. In this manner the two different money systems became interlocked and interdependent, and the economies of north and south remain so today, even though there is no longer any traffic in currency materials.

177 Since the end of World War II the
436 Santa Cruz monetary system has come under pressure from the world outside. More and more Australian money has flowed into the islands; it circulates along with the feather currency and is completely interchangeable with it. Today the rate of exchange is roughly one shilling for a piece of feather money of minimum value. This makes the par value of a No. 1 piece 512 shillings, or about 25 Australian pounds. Figured in
[464] terms of labor (at the prevailing net wage rate for unskilled labor in the central Solomons, where most Santa Cruz men work at some point in their lives), the value of a new piece of currency is roughly comparable: about 20 to 24 pounds.

458 Plantation wages have nearly trebled
177 since 1945. The great increase in the

they, for the time being at least, prefer to go out to work for wages rather than to stay home as the older men do. As a result of this, it takes nearly forty pounds to pay for all the materials and services required for a single piece of new feather currency. This is roughly equivalent to over one year's net earnings in the labor lines of a plantation. In effect, feather currency is being priced off the currency market. In contrast to the binders, the bird catchers are eager to work for old rates, for the lack of production of currency has seen a marked rise in the bird population. Birds are abundant in areas close at hand, and they are easy to catch. To the catchers, this means they do not have to work as hard or long to snare the required number for an order as they formerly did.

Despite this financial crisis, feather currency continues to be an absolute necessity in normal social relations. Most men are unwilling to marry off their daughters without receiving bride prices paid in the conventional manner. Pig breeders, too, demand payment in feather currency for fine animals that are to be used in maturation ceremonies, and the same feelings are held by the many turtle fishermen and the shark fishermen who furnish the special meat for ceremonial occasions. Nowhere has the confidence in feather currency been undermined. In fact, just the opposite realization—that it is becoming increasingly valuable—is what is at the bottom of the shortage. Since the currency is perishable, it cannot be hoarded indefinitely and retained as a kind of special purpose heirloom, to be exchanged only on ceremonial occasions. If present trends continue, then it must eventually disappear, and its functions will be assumed by the use of Australian money.

If one were to look casually at this situation, without knowledge of the internal dynamics, this would appear to be a simple instance of diffusion. A case in which a new element—Australian money—is replacing an old element on a one-for-one basis. It might seem like a simple choice situation, exactly like many others created by acculturation—a case where the native is choosing one object in preference for another according to some utilitarian scheme of values. One could even argue that the replacement is a rational economic choice based on the knowledge that one is convertible to the other, and one has the more general usage; therefore the more general one will be chosen. The apparent choice makes economic sense, too, for Australian money is not perishable, it cannot depreciate with age, and it is easier to carry, to use, and to exchange. All of these utilities are indeed recognized, but they have not shaken the traditional confidence in the indigenous currency.

This apparently simple case of change is analagous to kinds of monetary crises our own society has experienced when, during the bimetallic era, the relative values of gold and silver got out of hand; when various paper moneys were issued on hard currencies; and when international exchange rates between currencies fluctuated. In these situations, people always hang on to the more valuable currency, creating a scarcity, and taking it off the market. It seems, then, that Gresham's Law and the Doctrine of Bimetallic Flows are as applicable to this primitive monetary system as they are to civilized systems.

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NOTES

1. Bohannon, Paul, "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy," Journal of Economic History, XIX, 491-503. 1959.

2. Field work in the Santa Cruz Group was carried out during 1958-60 as part of the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program (Bishop Museum, University of Hawaii, Yale University), supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.